DEVELOPMENT OF ASH‘ARITE THEOLOGY IN THE NORTH AFRICA: THE SHAPING OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL UNITY OF THE REGION

المذهب الأشعري ودوره في بناء الوحدة الفكرية في شمال افريقيا

قراءة تاريخية لمنحى صياغة الوحدة العقدية والسياسية في المنطقة

Dr. Tarek Ladjal.
Department of History and Islamic Civilization.
Academy of Islamic Studies.
University Malaya. Malaysia

Abstract
Understanding the socio-cultural identity of contemporary North Africa (Maghreb) and the background of much of its political development should not be held away from its religious, theological and juristic history. The reason being that neglect of the religious history of the region only obscures our vision of the real driving forces shaping much of today’s religious and cultural progress in the Maghreb. This study examines the historical stages and characteristics of the Ash‘arite intellectual development in the Maghreb while exploring factors contributing to the shaping of its intellectual unity. The scope of this inquiry is to examine the historical and intellectual evolution of Asharism in the Maghreb; some of its profound implications on society, religious instruction, and eventually the political history of the region will also be inspected. This research touches on fundamental evolutionary stages in the formation and consolidation of Ash‘arism in the Maghreb, each of which exerts socio-political implications on the region while also reflecting the intellectual, political and cultural interaction with the Muslim East. This research is instrumental to the understanding of the efforts made by respective governments in the Maghreb to strengthen Ash‘arism to preserve viable and sustainable unity between Muslims in the region.

Keywords: Ash‘arism. Maghreb. Theology . Malikism. Intellectual. Muslim East

ملخص

تتناول الدراسة الدور المحوري الذي لعبه المذهب الأشعري في بناء وحفظ الوحدة الفكرية في بلاد المغرب الإسلامي، وهي ظاهرة غابت في بقاع العالم الإسلامي الشرقية حيث كثرت الفرق والجماعات والمذاهب ولم تتمكن كل حركات التغيير الفكرية والسياسية من ازاحتها ومحوها. تحاول الدراسة البحث في المراحل التاريخية لتطور الفكري الأشعري في المغرب الإسلامي ودور تلك المراحل في التأسيس للوحدة الفكرية والعقدية القائمة لحد الساعة.

تعتمد الدراسة المنهج التاريخي التحليلي لتناول مادة الموضوع مع إعادة تركيب ظاهرة التطور الفكري والعقدي من خلال النصوص التاريخية ذات العلاقة بالموضوع. وقفت الدراسة على وجود مراحل ثلاث كبرى تطور عبرها الفكر الاشعري وتغلغل في البنى الفكرية للمجتمع الشمال افريقي، بدأت الأولى بالقلانسي ت 359 هـ وانتهت بالسفاقسي(ت 501هـ) بينما ابتدأت الثاني بابن تومرت(ت524هـ)، مرورا بالضرير(ت 520 هـ) وابن العربي(ت 543 هـ) وانتهاءا بالسلالجي (ت 574 هـ) بينما تربع على المرحلة الأخيرة السنوسي (ت 895 هـ) بتليفه الغزيرة.

ساهمت كل مرحلة من هذه المراحل في إذابة الفروقات العقدية بين الأطياف الثقافية والعرقية في المنطقة، وعكست نجاحها الفكري في بناء السلم الاجتماعي والسياسي في عموم المغرب العربي لعدة قرون.

INTRODUCTION

The rise of Abū al-Hasan al-Ash'ari (874-936) in the fourth century represents a turning point in the historical development of religious and intellectual unity for Muslims; it is so perhaps because of the volatile intellectual life, particularly following the conflicts arising between the Hijazi 'AlawitesAla wiyin and the Levantine Umayyad. Their conflict took place following the emergence of Muslim scholastic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), which still unclear for the People of hadith. As such, the appearance of Ash'arite at such juncture was critical to the growth and development of religious, theological and intellectual history of Muslims. In those conditions, the Sunnis were unable to resist any intellectual pressure exerted by the Mu'tazilite government-backed campaign. This study does not strictly follow a chronological historical sequence leading to the birth of Ash'arism as most of these incidents are known in current academic research. Instead, it chooses to discuss the main characteristics of Ash'arism which spread throughout the Islamic world, in both classical and contemporary time. As such it paves the way for exploring a number of its intellectual features while pointing out the critical ideologies that contributed to the formation of Ash'arism.

The development of Ash'arism according to Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) has occurred in three consecutive stages, each of which was affected by certain prominent scholarly figure. The first is the stage of Baqillānī (d. 1013), who developed a rational methodology and set the founding ground for intellectual proofs and preambles that represent later the fundamental basis of Ash'arism. The second is Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'arī who layed the general foundations of the Ash'arism. Al-Juwainī (d.1085) however led Ash'arism in Baqillānī's footsteps and introduced his work '*al-Shāmil*' (The Comprehensive), which he summarized later into '*al-Irshād*' (The Guide). His work further reinforced the Ash'arite ideology in the Maghreb. Juwainī also developed some new ideas that have not been discussed earlier in the Ash'arite School. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d.1209) on the other hand intergrated philosophy and logic with scholastic theology; his work reflects the nature of the period during which the Islamic philosophy was at its peak. This forced Ash'arite scholars to engage with the philosophical issues and problems so as to answer inquiries of philosophy.

I. REVIEW OF THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY IN THE MAGHREB PRIOR TO THE 12TH CENTURY:

Because of its remote geographic location from the centre of the Islamic Caliphate, Maghreb represented a safe haven for intellectual and political views opposing the central government in Damascus and Baghdad. That caused increased migrations of intellectual and political opposition since the Seventh Century searching for security from government persecution, and as a result, the intellectual and political conditions of the Maghreb become unstable since the early centuries of Islam. In the second half of the eighth century for instance [26], Maghreb became completely independent from the direct administration of the Abbasside Caliphate, and was divided into four states namely the Sunni Andalusia (756-1031), the Sunni Aghlabids Dynasty (800-909) known today as Tunisia, the Ibādī Rustamid Dynasty (776-909) in Algeria, and the Idrisid Dynasty (788-974) seen back then as the hope for Shi'ites fleeing Abbasids' persecution.

The political disintegration in the Maghreb caused yet another intellectual breakdown based on the very ideologies of the the Sunni Aghlabids, the Khariji Rustamids and the Shi'i Idrisids in addition to some others groups who settled in the region for similar reasons. The Isma'ilis perhaps were the most visible group; they succeeded to build an independently autonomous polity in Algeria between the years of 909-1171; their system grew stronger thus putting an end to the Sunni Aghlabids Dynasty in Tunisia in 909 [28]. As a result, the Shi'ites began to spread to the North and have, consequently, occupied Egypt in 935, as well as the Hijāz and most of *Shām* (Levant), and have as such established the Fatimid Caliphate. Such diverse and politically disurbing conditions based on theological and ideological differences in the Maghreb lasted for a considerable period of time; witnessing yet another type of conflict, this time, between the Mālikī and Hanafī Schools of law in competion for the region's control.

It was only after the Fatimids' eventual return to the East with the shift of authority to the Berber Zirid Dynasty (973-1152) that the Maghreb started to witness the beginning of theological stability. Following an assurance of the non-return of the Fatimids back to the Maghreb, the Zirid during the reign of Mu'izz ibn Bādīs (1016-1062) declared the Maghreb as a Sunni region in the year of 1045 [24]. In spite of their intent to officially form a united theology and ideology in the Maghreb, the territory was still unstable due to the limitations of their authority in the region to the Middle Maghreb (i.e., Algeria) only [25].

One of the striking development in the ideological and theological history of the Maghreb however, began with the rise of the Almoravids (1040-1147), who appeared during the rise of an Eastern Ash'arite ideology, namely that of Abū al-Hasan al-Ash'arī, which had then started to

spread as a resut of the wane of Mu‘tazilim and the withdrawal of Batinism [46]. This was, in part, because of the power of the Sunni Seljuq State which reinforced its ideological and political control over the central Caliphate and the East [11] under the auspice and guidance of Nizam al-Mulk (d.1092), which further encouraged and supported theologians like Juwainī (d.1085), Ghazālī (d.1111), Qushayrī (d. 1072), and some others standing against Mu‘tazilites and Batinism. These developments were also associated with a unity of theological and political powers in the Maghreb showing thus remarkable contrast with the East, where the Shi‘ite alongside other ideas and groups managed to maintain their existence and power.

The Almoravids' political power at the time of the first emergence of Ash‘arite ideology in the Maghreb, was guided by simple life; their ideology and theology, however, contributed to undermining if not elimination, of all ideological remnants in the region. They fought against other religious ideologies, and sometimes even harshly persecuted their opponents. Their ideological frame of empire building, however, was ill-defined due to a number of factors, the discussion of which falls beyond the boundaries of this paper. Perhaps the most noteworthy of those factors, and one that must be mentioned here, is the co-occurrence of Ash‘arism in both the Maghreb and Andalusia with the Almoravid Empire where the Ash‘arite School was deeply engrained in the hearts and minds of the intelligensia and the masses alike[1].

II. SPREAD OF ASH‘ARISM IN THE MAGHREB

Historians debate the exact date of the rise of Ash‘arism and the stages of its development. However, examination of the historical stages of this school of thought points to the following three main historical stages:

1. Early Introduction

This stage is signficantly marked by efforts of individuals who sought to spread the ideology of Ash‘arism in the Maghreb. It was also limited to scholars who upon return from their learning journey in the East under the guidance of Ash‘arite scholars, have carried with them new

[1] Over the past four hunderd years, Malikis jursits and masses in the Maghreb used to instruct and memorize the text of *‘Al-murshid al-mu‘īn ‘alá al-ḍurūrī min ‘ulūm al-dīn fī madhhab al-Imām Mālik'.* This poet prose text deals with matters of creed, the pillars of Islam, spirutual and behavioral discipline traditionally known as Tasawwuf. See: Faouzi Skali, *Saints et Sanctuaires de Fés*, (Rabat: Marsam, 2007), 12.

intellectual and theological persusasions lacking any official political support or endorsment. Researchers do not agree on who was the first person to introduce Ash‘arism to the Maghreb, and cannot agree to the point in history when it happened. Most concede that it was during the Tenth Century during the lifetime of Abu al-Hasan al-Ash‘ari. Some, however, argue that it was the Tunisian scholar Ibrāhīm ibn Abdullah al-Zabidī or al-Zubairī, also known as al-Qalānīsī (d. 969) [7], whereas still others claim it was that Abu Maymun Dāris ibn Ismā‘īl al-Fāsī (d. 967) [45]. Despite these differences, however, there has been a recent consensus among historians pointing to AbË al-Hasan al-Kābisī (d.1012) as the first to introduce Ash‘arism into the Maghreb.

As a result of the introduction of Ash‘arism, a number of scholars embraced it and contributed to its dissemination. Some of them travelled to the East and learned under famous Ash‘arite scholars to return back to the Maghreb to spread the doctrine of Ash‘ariyyah. Among them one finds AbË ‘Abdullah al-Azdī (d. 1030) and AbË Ùāhir al-Baghdādī (d.1056) [4], who both learned theology under Baqillānī, who directed them to head westward, to the Maghreb and Andalus and to spread Ash‘arism [39]. One also finds other important key figures like Abu Umar al-Talamankī (d.1037), Abu Imrān al-Fāsī (d.1038) and Abu al-Walīd al-Bājī (d.1081) [22], whose endeavour to sprea Ash‘arism was particularly difficult in its early stages, perhaps because of the Bedouin nature of the Almoravids, who were raised in the Sahara away from the complexity of life experienced in the North.

The Ash‘arites endured a significant amount of trouble on the part of Almoravid scholars, who felt both of their dynasty and way of life were threatened by imminent spread of Ash‘arism. In spite of this however, there was a number of competent Ash‘arite scholars and intellectuals who were close to the Muslim masses, including Abu ‘Imrān al-Fāsī (d.1038), who led and supported the Mālikī School of law. Fāsī was known as one of the scholars who influenced Andalusia and the Maghreb while playing a significant role in the establishment of the Almoravid Dynasty [31]. There was also AbË Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Murādī (d.1096), the author of ‘*al-ishāra ila adab al-imāra*’ (on the ethics of governance), Abu al-Tayib Sa‘īd ibn Ahmad al-Asfāqsī (d. 1107), a scholar from Tunisia, author of ‘*al-Aqidah al-Asfāqsiyyah*’ (The *Asfāqisi* Theology). This stage of introduction lasted up until the end of the Almoravids in 1147 [50].

2. *Implications of the descent of the Almoravids to the Almohads dynasty* (1121–1269):

The decline of Almoravids at the hands of Mahdī ibn Tumart (d.1130) was a turning point in the history of the ideological development of the Maghreb, as well as a pivotal change in its intellectual, legal and political unity. The reason being that ibnTumart was a strict Ash'arite scholar, trained in the East at the hands of pioneer Ash'arite scholars like Abu Hamid al-Ghazālī. Ibn Tumart wrote '*'aqidat al-murshidah*', which attracted increasing attention of scholars, and was considered as a manifest of his Ash'arism [1]. IbnTumart taught the public the principles of his new theological ideology, causing therefore positive impact in the spread of Ash'arism and has, as such, led people to dissociate themselves form previous schools of thought and theology known back then as '*'aqīdat ahl al-taslīm wa al-tafwīÌ*' (submission to God)[2]. This is shown in the number of scholars and intellectuals who declared Ash'arism as their theological ideology after Ibn Tumart, stood for it, and developed it through their teaching and works. Unfortunately, IbnTumart did not live long to see the harvest of his efforts as he died prior the culmination of his dynasty. His ideas and principles however, continued on after his death and were maintained by his successors who endeavoured to make the Ash'arite school the official ideology in the Maghreb as means for acquiring political power [31].

With the establishment of the Almohads Dynasty, a new stage of official Ash'arite theorization began. It was perhaps for this reason, that scholars of Ash'arite persuasions had to equip themselves with methods and arguments to support and qualify their new ideology in the most coherent and systematic form possible. Such measures were taken to ensure the continuity and at the same time consistency of Ash'arism against all sorts of resistance and challenges. Although their path was not well paved, they could substitute existing methods while founding new political order. Among those distinguished intellectuals who contributed to the process of officializing the Ash'arite doctrine in the Maghreb were AbË al-FaÌly, Ibn al-NaÍwī (d.1119), AbË al-×ajjāj YËsuf ibn al-Öarīr (d.1126), al-Qādī' IyyāÌ (d1149), Ibn al-Arabī al-Ma'āfirī (d.1148) and 'Uthmān al-Salālijī (d.1178) [2].

[2] The premise of this creed is a major controversial issue among Muslim sects in regards to the interpretation of the divine attributes of God. Proponents of this creed see the necessity for *tafwiÌ* (submissiveness or deputization) of knowledge by fact of attributes and its essence to God himself, without dwelling on the meaning, or attempting to understand it. This was the official creed of the Maghreb during the Almoravids and prior the rise of Almohads.

Perhaps the most famous scholarly figure is AbË al-Hajjāj ibn Musā al-Öarīr who learned law and Ash‘arism under the renowned jurist AbË Bakr Muhammad al-Murādī, and who produced works on grammar and theology. Following his teacher's death, Öarīr assumed his position as a leading figure in the school of Ash‘ariyyah [14]. He is also known for his theolgocal treatise entitled '*al-tanbīh wa al-irshād fi ‘ilm al-i‘tiqād*', a didactic poetry in more than one thousand and six hundred verses on the Ash‘arite theology written in a simple style for children and beginners [36]. His works became the primary theolgical source used in religious learning institutions, and have, as such, significantly contributed to the effective dissemination of the ideology of *Ash‘arism* in the Maghreb [6].

Another interesting figure is AbË Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī - Andalusian jurist, intellectual, and Ash‘arite theologian. His major contribution to the shaping of the theological history of Andalusia and the Maghreb was the spread of a number of Ash‘arite primary texts produced originally in the the East such as '*madārik al-‘uqūl*', '*al-burhān fi uÎūl al-fiqh*', '*al-‘aqīdah al-nizāmiyyah*', and '*ghiyāth al-umam*' of al-Juwainī', '*tahÉfut al-falāsifa*', '*al-iqtiÎād fi al-i‘tiqād*' and '*shifā' al-ghalīl*' by al-Ghazālī, '*al-awsaÏ*', '*al-JÉmi', ‘al-kÍafī*', and '*al-jÉmi‘ al-jalī*' by AbË IsÍÉq al-IsfarÉyīnī [8]. Ibn al-‘Arabī also produced major works on Ash‘arism such as '*al-amad al-aqÎā bi asmā' Allah al-Íusnā wa sifÉtih al-‘Ulyā*', '*al-risālah al-ghurrah fi al-radd ‘alā ibn ×azm*', '*al-WuÎūl ilā ma‘rifat al-uÎūl*', '*al-‘awāÎim min al-qawāÎim', and ‘qānūn al-ta'wīl*' [6] As a scholar and theologian, Ibn al-‘Arabī had an original understanding of the Ash‘arite theology, held his own views on theology and had fervently contributed to the spread of Ash‘arism in the Maghreb [36].

The last significant figure perhaps is Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān al-Salālijī -a Moroccan Ash‘arite theologican and expert in Islamic theology, and no less in scholarly competence than al-Juwaynī in the East. His reputation was because of his established knowledge on Ash‘arite theology on the one hand, but more importantly because of significant contribution to the spread of the Ash‘arism across the Maghreb on the other hand. One work is reproted to have been authored by him is '*Aqīdat al-burhÉniyyah fi ‘ilm al-ulËhiyya*' commonly known as *al-burhaniyyah* or *al-salālijiyya* [28]. His work played a significant role in further developing and strengthening the Ash‘arite ideology in the Maghreb, and carried with it clear reflection of the official Ash‘arite theology of the Almohads dynasty. His work covers the basic tenets of the Ash‘arite theology which, in spite of brevity and simplicity, attracted great scholarly attention and interpretation by

many scholars such as Ibn al-QaÏÏānī (d. 1200), one of his close students, ibn Bazīza (d.1263), al-Khaffāf (d.1288), al-Yafirnī (d. 1333), al-'AqbÉnÊ (d.1408), al-SemlÉlÊ (d.1477) and al-Tinbuktī [49]. Their studies on *burhaniyyat al-salālijiyya* encouraged Ash'arites to further explore and discover more of its ideology and to trace its origin through following works made on it [21]. Despite the fact that this period of intellectual history in the Maghreb witnessed a serious conflict between the Almoravids and those associated with the Almohad's theological school, the Ash'arites continue to experience intense theological argumentations, confrontations, and even bloodshed. The public was indiscrimantly coerced to learn the principles of the Ash'arite theology and their deeds and sayings would not be accepted without learning and practice of the Ash'arite theology [16]. This was perhaps one of the significant factors that led to the emergence of specialization of Ash'arite theology in the Maghreb, geared for both levels of life, individual and public. Generally speaking, it was during this period that the triumphant dominance of Ash'arism made theology obligatory upon every mature Muslim, both male and female. The growing dominance however, was for Juwainī, especially his two works'*al-shāmil*' and '*al-irshād*'. Al-Irshād for instance represented a work of authority for many theologians and intellectuals during that period of time, and was approached as a source of epistemology for the Ash'arite theology [29]. This impacted most of the following works and made of it a milestone in the progress of of Ash'arism in the region.

3. The stage of maturity

The end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh signaled a new beginning for Ash'arism in the Maghreb. This period witnessed the rise of an Ash'arite ideology that introduced theological thought in much detail and produced in-depth works focusing on explanations of '*al-irshād*' by Juwainī, '*al-tanbīh*' and '*al-irshād*' by Öarīr, '*al-murshida*' by IbnTumart, and '*al-burhaniyya*' by al-Salālijī. It was during that period of time that confrontation of philosophers alongside purification of public oral culture from the remains of theologies like the Mu'tazilites, the Shi'ites and the Kharajites [41] also took place. It was also during that period of time that a number of renowned scholars rose like Ibn Khamīr al-Sabtī (d.1217), AbË 'Abdullah ibn al-MunāÎif (d.1223) [40], author of '*al-durrah al-sunniyyah fÊ al-ma'ālim al-sunniyyah*', a didactic poetry of seven thousand verses. Similarly, a number of

explanations of Juwainī's work '*al-Irshād fÊ usūl al-i'tiqād*' [39] were introduced, and as a result contributed to the synthesis of the salient features of Maghrebian Ash'arite thought.

Increased interest in Ash'arism also witnessed extensive writing on theology such as '*al-mihād fi sharÍ al-irshād*' by AbË Bakr al-Qurashī al-Māzirī (d. 1135); '*nakt 'alā sharÍ al-irshād*' by AbË Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Dahāq known as ibn al-Mara'a al-Andalusī (d. 1214), '*kifÉyat al-Ïālib al-kalām fÊ sharÍ al-irshād*' by AbË Yahya al-Idrisī al-×usnī (d. 1215), '*al-is'ād fÊ sharÍ al-irshād*' by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Bazīza (d. 1263), '*sharÍ al-irshād*' by AbË Bakr ibn Maymūn al-Qurtubī (d.1173), and '*iqtiÏāf al-azhār wa-istikhrāj natā'ij al-afkār li taÍÎÊl al-bughya wa al-murād min sharÍ kitab al-irshād*' by AbË Bakr Muhammad al-IshbÊlī (d.1183) [47]. The treatise of *Irshād* appears to have encouraged scholars and intellectuals to produce fine scholarly works on theology, creating thus a cultural and theological atmosphere flavored by Juwainī's scholarship and intellectual position.

However, the most significant development in the history of the Ash'arite ideology was the emergence of Ash'arite scholars who made serious changes to the old style of writing used then by most Ash'arites. One example was al-Imām 'Abdullah ibn Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d.1489) who authored several interesting works on theology, astrology, mathematics, Qur'anic exgesis, medicine, Sufism, ÍadÊth and law, covering much of the period's theoretical interests [23]. Sanūsī however, gained popularity as a theologian and author of theological works such as *al-'aqīdāh al-kubrā* and its explanation (the major creed), *al-'aqīdāh al-wuÎtā* (the middle creed) and its interpretation, *al-aqīdāh al-Îughrā* and its explanation also known as *umm al-barāhīn* or *al-'aqīdāh al-sanūsiyyah* (mother of proofs), *al-'aqīdā Îughrā al-Îughrā* and its explanation, *al-'aqīdāh al-Îughrā Îughrā al-Îughrā* known as *al-'aqīdā al-wajīzāh* or '*aqīdat al-nisā'*, (creed of women), *al-muqadimāt* and its explanation (prolegomena and its explanations), an explanation of '*kifāyat al-murīd fi 'ilm al-tawÍīd*' by AbË al-'Abbās ibn Abdullah al-Jazā'irī (d.1479), an explanation of '*waÎitat al-sulūk*' by Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad al-×awÌī (d.1504), an explanation of al-Murshīda by ibn Tumart, and an explanation of *jawāhir al-'ulūm* by 'AÌud al-Dīn al-ÔjÊ [48].

Al-Sanūsī, however, remains a genuine adherent and supporter of Ash'arite theology. He is one of its renowned leading figures during his era in spite of other better informed rivals like al-Shaykh AbË al-'Abbās ibn Zakī al-Tilimisānī (d.1494). Tilmisānī was known for his critical opposition to Sanūsī's theological vieowpoints, and according to available biographies many

debates were held between them, especially on the problem of the faith of *muqallid* (emulator of opinion without examination) and the visibility of the non-existent. In those debates, Sanūsī held stronger views and wielded sharper intelligence[1]. Because of this perhaps, Sanūsī was regarded as one of greatest leaders of Ash‘arite theology during his time, as shown in his works on theology, in which he discussed the cultural deficiencies manifested in many ideological and political drawbacks in the Maghreb, such as the fall of Andalusia and the dispersion of the Moors. Eventually emerged a state of inactivity, imitation, and cessation of *ijtihād* [49]. Therefore, Sanūsī played an extremely critical role in the revival of theology and fighting against *taqlid* while reconsidering rationalism as a mandatory pre-requisite for the legitimacy and soundness of Muslim beliefs. This, in return, revived the Ash'arite theology while marking the beginning of a new thelogical renaissance. [44]

It is worth noting however, that the theological works of Sanūsī were warmly welcomed and spread widely in the Maghreb as well as to the East. Great interest was shown in the teaching, explanation, commentaries, its writing style and placing annotations on the explanations of his works. This resulted in many commentaries such as that on ‘*aqīdat al-sanūsī al-sughrā* by Muhammad al-Malālī al-Tilmisānīc (d. 1494), on *al-‘aqīdāh al-Îughrā* by AbË al-Abbās ibn Kaddār al-Rashidī (d. 1544), an explanation by Muhammad al-Ma'mūn al-×afÎī (d.1627), an explanation by AbË al-×asan Ali al-YoËsī (d.1690), ‘*al-ghanīmah al-kubrā bi sharÍ muqaddimÉt al-sanūsī al-sughrā*’ by Ahmad al-Rahūnī al-Tatwānī (d.1814) [38]. Annotated versions with comments were made on *al-Øughrā*, the most important being ‘*Íashiyat* ‘umar *al-wazzān al-qastantinī*’ (d.1553), ‘*Íashiyat* Ahmad al-Øaqrī’ (d.1631), ‘*ÍÉshiyat* yaÍya al-shāwī’ (d.1684), commentary by Muhammad ibn Abdul Qādiral-Tuwātī (d.1703), commentary on ‘*Îughrā al-sanūsī’* by al-×āj Ahmad Aghīt (d.1591). Besides, poetry was composed in favour of ‘*al-‘aqīdāh al-Îughrā*’ such as that of ‘Ali ibn Ahmad al-Hāj al-Madrasī (d. 1551), Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d.1684), and Muhammad ibn Aghīd al-Zaydī (d.1711).[38] The ‘*al-‘aqīdāh al-Îughrā*’ produced such magnificient attention, so did ‘*al-‘aqīdāh al-kubrā* and *al-wustā’*. In fact, Sanūsīs theological writings inspired further writings on Ash‘arite theology [43].

At the educational level, however, Sanūsī's works on theology were taken as the primary source on many levels of theological and institutional discourse. As such, classes and legal opinions on theology have reflected the essence of Sanūsī's Ash‘arite based-ideology. Dominance of his theology continues up until today, and it continues to be taught in universities,

colleges, and learning centers in the Maghreb, and in Egypt, Iraq, Malaysia, Indonesia and other Muslim countries in which Ash'arism is the official and public theology. [43]

III. SALIENT FEATURES OF ASH'ARITE THOUGHT IN THE MAGHREB

In the previous section we surveyed some of the developmental stages of the Ash'arite theology in the Maghreb. Such development shows how the Ash'arites won control over most intellectual contributions. The influence of Sanūsī and the works of some other intellectuals spread over the Islamic world and reached Eastern Muslim regions such as Malaysia, Indonesia and the Archipelago of Malay in general. The journey of this development may be evaluated through the studyof the general features of every period.

In the first stage, however, the Ash'arite ideology was not fully developed to the point where it could set its own independent school in the Maghreb; it was limited to individual representations instead [50]. The second stage of the Ash'arite official endorsement was marked by wide-spread diffusion. During that period, the principles of the new ideology were formed on a Maghrebian basis in light of the political conditions during that time and the theoretical conditions of the Maghreb surrounding the rise of the Almohads dynasty. The primary motive perhaps might have been the desire to counteract the spread of the Almoravids theology.

As such, adherents to Ash'arite theology chose among their legal opinions one which states that theoretical disciplines are compulsory for every mature Muslim, male and female, and that learning Ash'arism is pre-requisite to people authentic faith and beliefs; and that without it one's faith would be void. Apparently, this was made to support the ideology of the Ash'arite School and to bring more attention to it, for the reason that the rational sciences indicated here only referred to the ideology of 'People of Truth' (*ahl al-haqq*) [43]. The People of truth in that case represented the Almohads and their Ash'arite theology only in contrast to Almoravids and their beliefs in*al-tafwÊÌ wa al-tasÊm*.

Political circumstances also witnessed a remarkable improvement of Ash'arite thought during the period of Almohads. The strict pre-existing condition that supreme political governance (imamship) requires Quryashite descent was loosened. This proves that the Almohads overcame the political dilemma they encountered due to the accession of non-Arab Berber rulers [26]. This situation of tolerance and compromise lasted up until it was eliminated altogether from the field of Muslim theology during Sanūsī's time [42]. Separation of Almohads

from the Abbasid Caliphate and establishment of an independent Caliphate in the Maghreb was also a serious political change. This was especially the case when the rulers were no more of Qurayshite descent, and subsequently the matter of Imām in the Ash‘arite ideology became a source of embarrassment to many intellectuals and, at the same time, motivation for leniency and disregard towards this condition. However, separation of the problem of Imām from ideological discussion appears to have taken place during the time of Sanūsī. Since then, a works on Imāmship usually entitled *Mabhath fi al-Imamah* (A study on imāmah) was which was closer to politics than to theology. And because of this, there were a great number of political writings on Imāmah.[2]

However, if the first two stages were marked with significant improvement with regard to the quantity and quality of works on Ash‘arite theology, then the third final Sanūsī’s stage was on the development of Ash‘arites. Although Sanūsī’s period witnessed drawbacks at the political and civilizational levels, there were other signficant improvements in regards to the volume of works produced at the time, especially in the field of theology. This has helped establish the Ash‘arite ideology as the official theology for people in the Maghreb until today [11]. There are, however, additional dimensions that manifest the presence of Ash‘arite theology in the Maghreb. Since its beginning, Ash‘arism in the Maghreb was associated with political and religious reform leading to favoring a number of legal opinions to support its continuation in the Maghreb, and to select legal views that complied with their ideological status and with the objective conditions encountered in their ideological conflict.

Throughout the development of Ash‘arite ideology in the Maghreb, there appears to be a consensus for the positiveness of the Ash’arite theology made then compulsory on Muslim piublic, while imitation in theology was forbidden and imitators were seen as non-Muslims [9]. This was because of the fierce and sometime bloody intellectual and political conflicts arising among Ash‘arites and Almoravids scholars. The Ash‘arite ideology encountered systematic ideological thought which favoured the imitation of the beliefs of Prophet Muhammad’s companions while at the same time being dominant among the public [47]. This led Ash‘arite sholoars to choose among the legal Ash‘arite perspective as endorsed by a number of Ash‘arite scholars in the East: to force the public to learn Ash‘arite theology and to force them to look into rational problems seen back then as a condition of legitimate belief.

Another serious theological problem affecting Ash‘arite thought in the Maghreb was the absence of deniers of Prophethood and miracles of Prophets. This might have resulted from the nature of the religious intellectual atmosphere in the Maghreb, which was not exposed to the theological theses such as those of Abu ‘Isā al-Warrāq (d. 861), Ibn al-Rāwandī (d.913) and others in the Muslim East[3]. In fact, the theological ideology of the deniers appeared in the East and lasted up until the Sixth Century, showing up and fading on numerous occasions and threatening the ideology of the Muslim masses[4]. In general Muslims sought to support their Muslim beliefs and repel disbeliefs, leading Ash‘arites in the East to engage with those critical theological threats and to prodice many philosophical and theological treatises on the topic of Prophethood while cautioning Muslims masses from agnosticism. In their works, the Ash‘arites supported their theisis with evidences on the truth of Prophethood and miracles[5]. In the Maghreb however, the theme of Prophethood was limited to basic knowledge incumbent on every Muslim. This was because the Maghreb did not face similar threats as those arising in the Muslim East. The Maghreb writings on theology were simple and free from lengthy details except for al-QāÌī AbË Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī who lived in the East and was exposed to many of those theological debates and contriversies [49].

In each stage of development of Ash‘arite theology, the main influential figures appear to be different. In the first stage, Baqillānī was the main figure for the period because of the significant number of adherents of the Ash‘arite ideology who were mostly his students and

2. According to Biruni, the first was claimed to be against religion while the second was claimed as an attack against the necessity of the prophets. In his Risala, Biruni criticized and caution against Razi’s views, noting an influence of Manichaeism. Deuraseh, Nurdeng (2008). “Risalat al-Biruni fi Fihrist Kutub al-Razi: A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Works of Abu Bakr Al-Rāzī (d. 313 A.h/925) and al-Birūni (d. 443/1051)”. Journal of Aqidah and Islamic Thought 9: 51–100.

4 The movement of questioning the authenticity of Prophethood represented one of the most significant intellectual threats during the first Abbasid following the Batini ideology. Taking into account the size of the threat, Caliph Mahdi formed an administrative hisbah posistion to counteracting this ideology. This became known in the history as the diwan of bida‘a, handled by the Muhtasib for Heresey. Ahmad Amin, Ẓuhr al-Islām, II-III, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyah, 1961), II: 97.

5 Numerous works were devoted to the defence of Prophethood. The most influential work perhaps was ‘Tathbit Dala’il al-Nubuwwah’ (Strengthening the Signs of Prophethood) by Al-QaÌi ‘Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1025), Dala’il al-Nubuwwah (Proofs of Prophethood) by Imam al-Bayhaqi (d.1066), Abu Hatim al-Razi (d.934) also defended the doctrine of the prophethood in ‘A‘lām al-Nubuwwah’ andh is student Hamīd al-Dīn Karmānī (d. 411/1020).

those who held his views and ideologies. In the second phase however, Juwaynī was the most influential figure.

His thoughts influenced those who were involved in the field of theology during his time. His main influence was shown in his work al-Irshād[6]. The third stage however, is known as the Sanūsī's period, during which Ash'arite works spread. Logic was heavily incorporated into the themes, works and treatises of theology up to the point where one would hardly distisguish theology from logic. Besides, there is no trace of philosophical impact on the Ash'arite works contrary to the writings of later Ash'arite scholars such as Fakhr al-DÊn al-Razi in the East [4].

Tracing the Ash'arite ideology in the Maghreb shows how most of the key Ash'arite representatives were able to spread their theology. Sufis also participated enthusiastically in the process of officializing the Ahs'arite dogma as well. Sufis however, were able to separate their practice from the developing process of Ash'arism, and hence made clear distinctions between Sufism and Ash'arism, and have as such drawn the boundaries between what is to supposed to ascetic and theological, as seen perhaps in their light treatement of the topic of the miracles of the Sufis (*karÉmÉt al-Îufiyyah*) in some of their theological.

IV. BUILDING OF INTELLECTUAL UNITY OF THE MAGHREB

A number of critical factors made visible the intellectual and theological homegenity in the Maghreb. First, the Mālikī School of law spread widely in the Maghreb and became dominant among other schools of law and thought. Then came the Ash'arite School which gradually spread all over the Maghreb and limited the influence of other Islamic Schools of thought. This unity in the Maghreb was further supported by the public recitation of the Qur'an according to the reading of *warsh*, in addition to adhering to the spiritual style of Junayd[7].

---

6 In addition to his critical influence as a vizier, he is also known for founding several madrasahs and colleges in Muslim several cities; most notable among them the famous Nizamiyyah schools. The primary purpose of those schools was to spread the creeed of Ahl Sunna ideology (Ash'arites) and the confrontation of the Batinites. Hodgson, Marshall G.S. The Venture of Islam, (The Classical Age of Islam). (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press,1958), I: 19-20.

7 It is one of adopted readings and style of recitation of the Qur'an in the Maghreb. Each Quran reading (qira'a) derives its authority from a prominent leader of recitation in the second or third century of the Hijra who in turn trace their transmission back to the Companions of Prophet Muhamamd. The reading of warsh is followed in north Africa and the Sub-Sahara.

The ideological poetry written in late centuries in the Maghreb prove the above. Ibn ‘Ashir (d.1630) in his poetry for instance enumerates the salient features and borders of the Maghreb integration[8]. He states:

في عقد الأشعري، وفقه مالك وطريقة الجنيد السالك

This means that the socio-religious and cultural unity of Maghreb developed on the basis of the Ash‘arite theology, the Maliki legal system, and the spiritual path of Junayd. Such an integration between Ash‘arism, Malikīsm and Sunni Sufism led to the formation of an ideal ideological harmony in the Maghreb. As a result, Maghreb showed resilience against a number of theological and intellectual conflicts common in other regions of the Muslim world, particularly in the East. However, only one non-Ash‘arite ideology was able to resist in the Maghreb following the Sixth Century; it was the Ibāḍiyyah who could maintain their ideology and thought perhaps because of their overly protective social structure.

Long presence of the official Ash‘arite theological ideology in the Maghreb also influenced the public oral culture and tradition. As people in the Maghreb became closely attached to Ash‘arite thought, they also began to reflect on its thought through prayers, sharing of wisdom and recitation of proverbs. As such, Ash‘arism was seen as the idea of religious fate, infinite power of God and possibility to see the divine. This displays a sort of profound integration between the religious and political worlds. In politics, there was a clear Ash‘arite ideology that spread through oral culture, one that stated: ‘Let the ruler be sinful, better than society with no ruler’, meaning that it is more bearable to have specific political order with a sinful ruler than to have social disorder and chaos with no ruler. This explains the political stability in the region since the Eighth Century when the political scene was more settled and political entities started to form. It also explains the steady rule of the Alaouite Dynasty (1631-Present) in the Maghreb for more than five hundred years in a region with many troubles, especially with the coming of the Ottomans in the Sixteenth century, and the French occupation in the Twentieth century.

Nevertheless, things did not remain as they were prior to the Twentieth Century during which, the appearance of what is known as the ‘Islamic revival’ occurred, which could have properly spell out its ideological position in the Maghreb. The twentieth century for instance has

[8] Over the past four hunderd years, Malikis intellectuals and masses in North Africa and the Sub-sahara regionsused to teach and memorize *‘Al-murshid al-mu‘īn ‘alá al-ḍurūrī min ‘ulūm al-dīn fī madhhab al-Imām Mālik’*. See: Faouzi Skali, *Saints et Sanctuaires de Fés*, (Rabat: Marsam, 2007), 12.

witnessed a numbers of issues including rebellion movements and political disorders affecting the legal and intellectual interpreations. Part of the problem however, might be attributed to the passive position of the Maliki and Ash‘arite intellectual and historical asset. During the European occupation, people in the Maghreb passed through a vacum during which they lost significant attachment to their history and become unguarded against all sorts of religious campains and inflitrations.The Movement of Muhammad Ibn ‘AbdulWahhab has also contributed to the fate of Ash‘arism in the region. Beginning with the Eighteenth Century till today both Ash‘arite theology and Maliki legal doctrines encountered increasing assaults on the parts of graduates of Islamic studies, particularly from the gulf. Their preoccupation to guide the mases to the purity of belief and legal practice of early Muslim generations caused states of theological, intellectual and political dis-configurations in the region. It was perhaps in light of those changes that governments of Algeria, Morroco and Tunisia appear to have realized the need to further strenghten the position of the Ash‘arite theology and Malikism as a strategic religious means to secure the intellectual and religious unity of their respectives societies, and to further enhance regional harmony and stability.

CONCLUSION

With the rise of Ash‘arite theology in the Maghreb region, the region witnessed significantly stable ideological conditions. This encouraged more writings in all different fields of Islamic knowledge and disciplines in general and specifically in the field of intellectual knowledge. On the other hand, stability in the Maghreb, and freedom from sectarian divisions, also supported the growth of intellectual scholarship. Perhaps the only remaining exception is the group of Ibādiyya which could withstand the infiltration of pan-Maghreb Ash‘arism. Ash‘arism readily tolerated their presence so long the socio-religious identity and hierarchy remained undistrurbed. The only noticeable disturbance to its dominance during the last three decades perhaps was held by the Wahabism. Throughout its diversely rich development however, the Ash‘arite theological doctrine was able to mold the mind set of Muslims in the Maghreb, contributed to social dynamism, and provided society in general with the ideal model of religiosity and reform. Politically the Ash‘arite dogma contributed through its themes on Imamship and governance and the integration of concepts of tolerance and obedience to rulers to a significant degree of political stability. This is clear in the political life in the Maghreb beginning with the Sixteenth Century, particularly with the Royal Alawite Family in Morocco.

REFERENCES

1. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Najjār, *al-Mahdī ibn Tumart*, (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), 231.
2. ‘Abdullah al-Urwī, *Mujmal Tārīkh al-Maghreb*, (Beirut/Rabat: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-Arabī, 1994), 101-102.
3. ‘Abdul-Majīd al-Najjār, *Fusūl fi Tarīkh al-Fikr al-Islāmī fi al-Maghreb*, (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1992), 87.
4. Abu al-Qāsim Sa‘d Allah, *Tarīkh al-Jazā’ir al-Thaqāfī*, VI-IX (Beirut, Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), VI: 54.
5. Abū Bakr ibn ʻAli al-Ṣinhāji BayÌaq, *Akhbār al-Mahdī Ibn Tūmart wa-Bidāyat Dawlat al-Muwaḥidīn*, (Ribat: Dār al-Manṣūr lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Wirāqah, 1971), 32.
6. ʻAlawi, Alawi, *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmīyyah bi-Bilād al-Maghreb*, 56.
7. al-Tuhāmī, *Juhūd ‘Ulamā’ al-Maghrib*, 98.
8. Ammār Ṭālibi, *al-Naṣṣ al-Kāmil li-Kitāb al-ʻAwāṣim min al-Qawāṣim*, (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1997), 9, 54.
9. Hasan Hafizi ‘Alawi., *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmīyah bi-Bilād al-Maghreb: min al-Ta‘addud ilaa al-Waḥdah*, (Rabat: Publication of University of Mohammad V, 2008), 43.
10. Ibn Maryam al-Tilimsānī, *Al-Bustān fī Dhikr al-Awliyā’ wa-al-ʻUlamā’ bi-Tilimsān*, ed.Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shanab, (Algeria: al-Maṭbaʻah al-Thaʻālibiyah, 1908), 211.
11. Ibrāhīm al-Tumāmī, *Juhūd ‘Ulamā’ al-Maghreb fi al-Difā’ ‘an ‘Aqidat Ahl al-Sunah wa al-Jamā’ah*, (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2004), 267.
12. Ihnāna, *Tatawwu*, 65-56.
13. Ihnāna, *Tatawwur al-Madhhab Ash‘ari*, 67-71, 28.
14. Jamil M. Abu al-Nasr, *A History of the Maghreb in the Islamic Period*, (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1987), 61.
15. Mohammad al-Jābirī., *Takwīn al-Aql al-‘Arabī*, (Beirut: Arabic Cultural Centre & Casablance, 1987), 122.
16. Mohhammad Ayt Ḥamu., ‘Ilm al-Kalām fi al-Gharb al-Islāmii bayn al-iqtibās wa al-khuṣūṣiyah, *in : Al-ittijāhāt al-kalāmiyyah fī al-Gārb al-islāmī*, 45-70, p. 55.

17. Patrick Karl O'Brien, *Atlas of World History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 87.
18. QāÌī ‘IyāÌ, *al-Ghaniyyah- Fihrist Shuyukh al-QāÌī IyāÌ-*, ed: al-Mukhtar al-Talili, (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī,1982), 226-227.
19. Sa‘id bin Sa‘id, *al-Khitāb Ash‘ari*, 86.
20. Sa‘id bin Said al-‘Alawī, *Al-Khitab Al-Ash‘ari*, (Beirut: Dar al-Muntakhab al-Arabī, 1992), 75.
21. Yusuf Ihnāna, *Tatawwur al-Madhhab Ash‘ari fi al-Gharb al-Islāmī*, (Rabat: Ministry of Endowments, 2007), 46.
22. ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Majdhūb, *al-Sirā’ al-Madhhabī fi Afriqiyyah ilā Qiyām al-Dawlah al-Ziriyya*, (Tunis: al-Dar al-Tunisia, 1975), 127.
23. ‘Abd al-Majid al-Saghir, *Fi al-Hajja li Tarikh Naqdi li ‘Ilm al-KalÉm fi al-Magrib. in: Al-ittijāhāt al-kalāmiyyath fī al-Gārb al-Islāmī, ‘Alī al- Idrīsī*, (Rabat: Manshūrāt Kuliyyat al-Adāb bi-al-Ribāṭ, 2005), 13-26, p.20.
24. ‘Abd al-Wahid, Al-Murrakishi, *al-Mu‘jib fi Talkhīs Akhbār al-Maghreb*, I-II (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1999), I: 348.
25. ‘Abu al-Abbās Ahmad bin Khālid al-Nāsirī, *al-Istiqsā’ li AkhbārDuwal al-Maghreb al-Aqsā*, I-VIII (Morocco: Dar al-Kitāb, 1997), I: 194.
26. ‘Ali Idrisi, *al-Imamah ‘inda Ibn Tūmart: Dirāsah Muqāranah ma‘a al-Imāmīyah al-Ithnay ‘Ashrīyyah*, (Algeria:Dīwān al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Jāmi‘iiyah,1991), 76.
27. Abdul-Rahmān Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2004), I: 267.
28. Abu al-Qāsim Khalaf bin Bashkwāl, *al-Sila*, I-III (Cairo: al-Dar al-Misriyya li al-Ta’līf wa al-Tarjamah, 1966), I:567.
29. Alawi, *Al-Madhāhib al-Islāmīyah bi-bilād al-Maghreb,* 76.
30. Alfred Bel, *La religion Musulmane en Berbérie: Esquisse d'histoire et de Sociologie Religieuses,* (Paris: Geuthner, 1938), 43, 122.
31. ‘Ali Muhammad Sallabi, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn bi-Ma‘rifat Dawlat al-Murābitīn,* (Cairo: Dār al-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Nashr al-Islāmiyyah, 2003), 76.
32. Al-Najjār, *al-Mahdī ibn Tumart*, 233; ‘AbduAllah Ali Allam, *Al-Da‘wah al-Muwaḥidīyah bi al-Maghreb,* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘rifah, 1964), 114.

33. Al-Qabalī, *Murāja'āt hawlā al-Mujtama'*, 65.
34. Dār Tubqāl li- al-Nashr,1987), 30.
35. Harakat, *Madkhal ila Tārīkh al-'Ulūm*, 387.
36. Harakat, *Madkhal ila Tārīkh al-'Ulūm,* II: 321 .
37. Harakat, *Madkhal ila Tārīkh al-'Ulūm,* II: 321.
38. Harakat, *Madkhal*, 418-423-424.
39. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī,* I-II (Beirut: Dar ibn Hazm, 2001), I: 121; al-QāÌī IyāÌ, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, II-II (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), II: 586.
40. Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribī, *al-Maghreb fi Halā al-Maghreb*, ed: Shawqī Daif, I-IV (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'ārif, 1955), I: 105.
41. Ibrahim Harakat, *Madkhal ila Tārīkh al-'Ulūm bi-al-Maghreb al-Muslim ḥattaa al-Qarn 9/15 M,* II-II (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadīthah, 2000), II: 211.
42. Ihnāna, 53.
43. Ihnāna, *Tatawwur*, 65-68-28.
44. Is'īd Elaywān, *al-Imām al-Sanūsī wa Juhuduh fi 'Ilm al-ManÏiq*, (Algeria: Dar al-Ba'th, 1996), 45.
45. Jamal Allal Bakhti, *'Uthmān al-Salālijī wa-madhhabīyatuh al-Ash'arīyah,* (Rabat: Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) 2005), 208-254, 197.
46. Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabiri, *Naḥnu wa-al-Turāth: Qirā'āt Mu'āṣirah fī Turāthinā al-Falsafī,* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-'Arabi, 1993), 276.
47. Muhammad al-Qabalī, *Muraja'āt hawla al-Mujtama' wa al-Thaqāfa bi al-Maghreb al-Wasīt, (*Casablanca:
48. Muhammad ibn Iḅrāhim al-Malali, *al-MawÉhÊb al-Qudsīyah fī al-Sira al-Sanūsīyah*, transcript in the National Library of Tunisia, No.15534, 66-76.
49. Sa'id bin Sa'id, *al-Khitāb al-Ash'ari*, 86.
50. Saghir, *Fi al-Hajja li Tarikh Naqdi li 'Ilm KalÉm*, 21.